

## Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC1903

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 LOME 0738

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: AMGT, PFOR, TO  
SUBJECT: PARM: ANNUAL POLICY AND RESOURCE ASSESSMENT, PART I -  
TOGO

REF: CERP 0001

1. I.A: U.S. INTERESTS:

U.S. INTERESTS IN TOGO DERIVE FROM A BROADER BASIC U.S. INTEREST IN SEEKING A MORE CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE AFRICAN COMMUNITY OF STATES. TOGO CONDUCTS AN ENERGETIC AND AMBITIOUS FOREIGN POLICY WHICH RESULTS IN A HIGH LEVEL OF INTERACTION WITH OTHER AFRICAN STATES, AND IT CONTRIBUTES ACTIVELY TO THE FORMULATION OF CONSENSUS ON REGIONAL AND CONTINENTAL ISSUES. TOGO'S INFLUENCE IS MORE A FUNCTION OF ITS ACTIVE DIPLOMACY THAN OF ITS SIZE OF RESOURCES. IN CONSIDERABLE MEASURE, TOGO'S INFLUENCE DERIVES FROM THE ROLE THAT PRES. EYADEMA HAS BEEN ABLE TO ASSERT WITHIN THE REGIONAL AND LARGER AFRICAN CONTEXT. REGIONALLY, WORKING WITH THE NIGERIAN LEADERSHIP, EYADEMA HAS SUCCESSFULLY PRESSED FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ECOWAS, THE REGIONAL ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION WHICH TRANSCENDS LINGUISTIC BARRIERS. AT THE SAME TIME HE CONTINUES TO BE ACTIVE IN THE ENTENTE AND COOPERATES INFORMALLY WITH NIGER, UPPER VOLTA AND MALI TO STRENGTHEN REGIONAL INFRASTRUCTURE. REFLECTING HIS DEEP CONCERN OVER INCREASING SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE REGION, HE IS SEEKING

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TO IMPROVE COOPERATION IN THE SECURITY FIELD WITH LIKE-MINDED STATES SUCH AS IVORY COAST, SENEGAL, NIGER AND UPPER VOLTA IN COOPERATION WITH FRANCE. A BASIC U.S. INTEREST IN TOGO IS THAT TOGOLESE INFLUENCE SHOULD CONTINUE TO BE EXERCISED IN THIS CONSTRUCTIVE WAY.

THE U.S. ADDITIONALLY HAS INTERESTS WHICH DERIVE FROM

TOGO'S EXISTENCE AS A SOVEREIGN NATION AND HOW IT EXERCISES  
ITS SOVEREIGNTY WITH RESPECT TO:

--HUMAN RIGHTS PROTECTION;

-- ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF  
NATIONAL INCOME;

--THE CONDUCT OF COMMERCIAL, CULTURAL AND INTELLECTUAL  
INTERCHANGE WITH THE WEST, AND SPECIFICALLY WITH THE U.S.

## 2. I. B OVERVIEW:

PRESIDENT GNASSINGBE EYADEMA CELEBRATED THE THIRTH ANNIVERSARY  
OF HIS ASSUMPTION OF POWER ON JANUARY 13, 1977. THIS EVENT  
CLIMAXED A PERIOD OF INTENSE POLITICAL ACTIVITY DURING WHICH  
EYADEMA THREATENED TO WITHDRAW FROM ACTIVE POLITICAL LIFE AND  
EVOKED PREDICTABLE PROTESTATIONS OF SUPPORT FROM HIS RASSEMBLE-  
MENT DU PEUPLE TOGOLAIS (RPT).. HOWEVER, THIS THREAT CAUSED  
GENUINE CONCERN THAT HE MIGHT ACTUALLY FOLLOW THROUGH WITH HIS  
IMPLIED INTENTION TO RETIRE FROM POLITICAL LIFE AND PROVIDED  
A SOBERING REMINDER OF THE LACK OF ANY NATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE  
ALTERNATIVE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP. THUS, EYADEMA ENTERS THE SECOND  
DECADE OF HIS STEWARDSHIP WITH REINFORCED AUTHORITY. FOR THE TIME  
BEING, ENDEMIC GRUMBLING AMONG THE SOUTHERNERS AND SUCH INCHOATE  
POLITICAL OPPOSITION AS EXISTS DOES NOT THREATEN POLITICAL  
STABILITY. A COST OF TOGO'S RELATIVE POLITICAL STABILITY IS  
AUTHORITARIANISM AND OCCASIONALLY CAPRICIOUS ADMINISTRATION  
OF JUSTICE.

THE OUTLOOK IS FOR A CONTINUATION OF PRESIDENT EYADEMA'S  
PERSONAL AUTHORITY AND OF THE BROAD OUTLINES OF TOGO'S DOMESTIC  
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AND INTERNATIONAL POLICIES. THERE WILL BE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT  
AND ELABORATION OF THE ORGANIZATION OF THE RPT. PARTY LEADERSHIP  
HAS BEEN RENEWED, AND YOUNG BUT SEASONED PARTY MEMBERS HAVE  
BEEN BROUGHT INTO POSITIONS OF LEADERSHIP. WHILE EYADEMA'S  
AUTHORITY WILL CONTINUE TO DERIVE FROM HIS POSITION AS ARMY  
COMMANDER, HE IS INCREASINGLY USING THE PARTY AS AN INSTRUMENT  
OF RULE AND POLITICAL MOBILIZATION. IT IS SIGNIFICANT THAT  
EYADEMA IS NOW THE ONLY MILITARY MAN HOLDING A POSITION IN THE  
GOVERNMENT. THE GENERATION OF OFFICERS WITH WHOM HE TOOK  
POWER ARE NOW ALL OUT OF POSITIONS OF DIRECT POLITICAL OR  
GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY.

WHILE THE POLITICAL SITUATION IS STABLE, THE WORSENING  
ECONOMIC SITUATION OF TOGO, BROUGHT ABOUT BY A HIGH RATE  
OF GOVERNMENT SPENDING AT A TIME OF LOWER PHOSPHATE PRICES AND  
WORLDWIDE INFLATION, COULD CREATE STRAINS WHICH WOULD SERIOUSLY  
AFFECT POLITICAL LIFE. THE EYADEMA REGIME WILL SOON BE  
FORCED TO CUT BACK ON EXISTING DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS AND  
AND TRIM ITS AMBITIOUS DEVELOPMENT PLANS. THE ARTIFICALLY

HIGH LEVEL OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY WILL DIMINISH, REDUCING INCOMES AND INCREASING UNDEREMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT. THE GOVERNMENT MAY RESPOND TO STRAITENED ECONOMIC CIRCUMSTANCES BY INCREASED EMPHASIS ON POPULAR POLITICAL MOBILIZATION, PARTICULARLY THE USE OF THE PARTY TO ORGANIZE UNSKILLED LABOR FOR DEVELOPMENT.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 LOME 0738

ON THE INTERNATIONAL SIDE, PRESIDENT EYADEMA CONTINUES TO BE HIGHLY ACTIVE IN THE REGIONAL CONTEXT. SINCE THE FIRST OF THE YEAR, HE HAS RECEIVED THE HEADS OF STATE OF GABON, IVORY COAST, LIBYA, MAURITANIA, NIGER, UPPER VOLTA AND ZAIRE, AND THE PRIME MINISTER OF GUINEA. TOGO HOSTED THE OAU COUNCIL OF IFOREIGN MINISTERS IN FEBRUARY AND EYADEMA CONFERRED INDIVIDUALLY WITH MOST OF THE VISITING MINISTERS. HE HAS ALSO VISITED GABON AND NIGERIA.

TOGO'S RELATIONS WITH THE NIGERIAN LEADERSHIP, PARTICULARLY WITH GENERAL OBASANJO AND COMMISSIONER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS GARBA, ARE EXCELLENT. EYADEMA ALSO MAINTAINS EXCELLENT RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE CHIEFS OF MODERATE FRANCOPHONE STATES, ESPECIALLY IVORY COAST'S MAJESTERIAL HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY, THE PRAGMATIC KOUNTCHE OF NIGER AND LAMIZANA OF UPPER VOLTA. THE TOGOLESE HAVE BEEN PARTICULARLY HELPFUL IN ACTIUG AS A GO-BETWEEN IN RELATIONS BETWEEN THE ANGLOPHONE AND FRANCOPHONE MEMBERS OF ECOWAS.

TOGO HAS CONTINUED AN INVOLVEMENT WITH RADICAL ARAB, AFRICAN AND ASIAN STATES LARGELY BASED ON ITS DESIRE TO PROJECT A REVOLUTIONARY IMAGE, AND IT GIVES NEAR-AUTOMATIC SUPPORT FOR THIRD WORLD POSITIONS. HOWEVER, SOME DEGREE OF DISENCHANTMENT APPEARS TO BE SETTING IN ON THE PART OF THE TOGOLESE LEADERSHIP WITH RESPECT TO THE COST-BENEFIT RATIO OF ARAB-AFRICAN FRIENDSHIP. IN PARTICULAR, THE TOGOLESE PERCEIVE THAT RELATIVE TO THE ADDED FOREIGN EXCHANGE BURDEN CAUSED BY INCREASED COSTS

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OF ENERGY THERE HAVE NOT BEEN COMMENSURATE ASSISTANCE FLOWS NOR POLITICAL SUPPORT FROM ARAB NATIONS. TOGOLESE-LIBYAN RELATIONS ARE BELIEVED TO BE STRAINED. TOGO REMAINS AN OUTPOST OF NORTH KOREAN POLITICAL ACTIVITY. RELATIONS WITH CHINA ARE EXCELLENT. DESPITE ITS THIRD WORLD LOYALTIES, TOGO IS ACUTELY CONCERNED ABOUT THE ENHANCED SOVIET ACTIVITY IN SUCH RADICAL STATES AS BENIN, GUINEA, MALI AND ANGOLA. ONE RESULT OF THIS CONCERN HAS BEEN INCREASED WILLINGNESS TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. AND TO REFURBISH RELATIONS GENERALLY WITH WESTERN NATIONS, PARTICULARLY FRANCE AND GERMANY--DESPITE ANTI-IMPERIALIST RHETORIC. THIS DESIRE ON THE PART OF THE TOGOLESE TO INCREASE U.S. POLITICAL AND SECURITY INVOLVEMENT IN THIS REGION OF AFRICA AND ALSO TO ELICIT GREATER U.S. TRADE AND INVESTMENT OPENS NEW U.S. POLICY OPPORTUNITIES.

THE CAUTIOUS, BUT REAL DESIRE OF TOGO TO IMPROVE ITS RELATIONS WITH THE WEST AND OUR GROWING INTEREST IN FINDING A MORE CONSTRUCTIVE INTERACTION WITH THE AFRICAN COMMUNITY OF NATIONS SUGGEST THAT CERTAIN POLICIES, ESTABLISHED IN A PERIOD WHEN "LOW PROFILE" AND "LOW PRIORITY" WERE THE KEYNOTES OF U.S.-AFRICAN RELATIONS, ARE NO LONGER APPROPRIATE. U.S. POLICIES TOWARD TOGO SUCH AS USING REGIONAL (IN PREFERENCE TO BILATERAL) PROGRAMS AS A CHANNEL FOR DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE OR BARRING THE POSSIBILITY OF SECURITY ASSISTANCE THROUGH LACK OF A PRESIDENTIAL DETERMINATION SHOULD BE RE-EXAMINED IN THE LIGHT OF PRESENT OPPORTUNITIES.

THE HIGH PRIORITY ACCORDED HUMAN RIGHTS AND ARMS CONTROL ISSUES IN U.S. POLICY COULD CAUSE NEW TENSIONS IN U.S.-TOGOLESE BILATERAL RELATIONS. IF, HOWEVER, SUCH CONCERNS ARISE IN A CONTEXT OF A GREATER U.S. WILLINGNESS TO RESPOND TO TOGOLESE CONCERNS AND TO PROVIDE A LEVEL OF SUPPORT FOR TOGOLESE DEVELOPMENT THAT WOULD GIVE TOGO A GREATER STAKE IN GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE U.S., WE BELIEVE THE SPILLOVER OF OUR NEW PRIORITIES IN THESE AREAS WILL BE MANAGEABLE. ANOTHER POSSIBLE SOURCE OF NEW STRAINS IN U.S.-TOGO RELATIONS COULD BE THE EMERGENCE OF THE

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TOGOLAND ISSUE IN INTERNATIONAL FORA; THE GOT INTENDS TO PRESS FOR A REOPENING OF THE QUESTION AND MAY WELL SEEK OUR SUPPORT FOR ITS HISTORICAL CLAIM.

3.I.C. ISSUES

U.S.-TOGO RELATIONS REVOLVE AROUND TWO BASIC ISSUES:

--ALTHOUGH THE TOGOLESE DO NOT PERCEIVE THE U.S. TO BE AS  
INDIFFERENT TO FUNDAMENTAL AFRICAN POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND  
SECURITY PROBLEMS AS THEY DID A YEAR AGO, THEY WANT THE U.S.  
TO BECOME MORE INVOLVED IN THE RESOLUTION OF THESE PROBLEMS.  
--GIVEN THE TOGOLESE PREOCCUPATION WITH MAINTENANCE OF THEIR  
REVOLUTIONARY CREDENTIALS, THEIR POSITIONS ON A NUMBER OF  
WORLD ISSUES--KOREA, THE NORTH-SOUTH DEBATE, THE MIDDLE EAST,  
DECOLONIZATION--ARE AT SUCH VARIANCE WITH U.S. VIEWS THAT WE  
VOTE ON OPPOSITE SIDES MORE FREQUENTLY THAN WE AGREE IN  
INTERNATIONAL FORA.

4.I.C: OBJECTIVES

A. INFLUENCE TOGOLESE FOREIGN POLICY ON ISSUES WHICH ARE  
IMPORTANT TO THE UNITED STATES.

B. MAKE A SUFFICIENT CONTRIBUTION TO TOGOLESE DEVELOPMENT TO  
CREATE A TOGOLESE STAKE IN MAINTAINING GOOD, AND IMPROVING,  
RELATIONS WITH THE U.S.

C. STIMULATE TOGOLESE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT  
IN THE DIRECTION OF GREATER RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND  
IMPROVED MINIMUM LIVING STANDARDS IN THE FRAMEWORK OF TOGO'S  
LIBERAL ECONOMIC SYSTEM. IN THIS CONTEXT,  
PARTICULAR ATTENTION SHOULD BE PAID TO HELPING INCREASE FOOD  
PRODUCTION AND ACHIEVING FASTER OVERALL RURAL DEVELOPMENT.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 LOME 0738

D. INCREASE THE AMOUNT OF COOPERATIVE CONTACT BETWEEN PRIVATE  
AND OFFICIAL AMERICANS AND THE TOGOLESE ELITE; CONTINUE  
TO IMPROVE THE MISSION'S WORKING RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE GOT.

E. CONTRIBUTE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF A CLIMATE OF OPINION

WITHIN THE TOGOLESE ELITE WHICH IS RECEPTIVE TO AMERICAN THOUGHT.

F. IMPROVE CONTACTS WITH TOGOLESE MILITARY.

G. INCREASE U.S. TRADE AND INVESTMENT IN TOGO.

5. I.C: COURSES OF ACTION

1. TO INFLUENCE TOGOLESE FOREIGN POLICY IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO INFLUENCE PRESIDENT EYADEMA. DOING THIS WILL REQUIRE EXPOSING HIM INCREASINGLY TO CONTACT WITH HIGH-LEVEL U.S. OFFICIALS. THIS MEANS VISITS OF SUCH OFFICIALS TO TOGO, AND AT SOME POINT EYADEMA SHOULD BE INVITED TO VISIT U.S.

2. A COMPLEMENTARY COURSE OF ACTION WILL BE TO CONTINUE STRENGTHENING EMBASSY TIES WITH GOT OFFICIALS HAVING AN INPUT INTO FOREIGN POLICY FORMULATION.

3. INCREASE RESOURCE AND TECHNOLOGY FLOWS TO TOGO TO APPROXIMATELY FIVE TO TEN MILLION DOLLARS A YEAR. EXISTING REGIONAL PROGRAMS SHOULD BE SUPPLEMENTED BY BILATERAL PROGRAMS.  
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SPECIFICALLY, THE FAMILY HEALTH PROJECT SHOULD BE FINALIZED AND NEW PROJECTS IN RURAL AND INFRASTRUCTURAL DEVELOPMENT SHOULD BE IDENTIFIED SO THAT THE RESOURCE FLOW THROUGH THE PIPELINE CAN REACH THE DESIRED FIVE TO TEN MILLION DOLLARS A YEAR LEVEL.

4. EYADEMA'S TEN-YEAR-OLD REGIME IS BASED ON MILITARY POWER; HE IS CONVINCED THAT AUTHORITARIAN METHODS ARE INDISPENSABLE IN CARRYING OUT WHAT HE DEEMS TO BE HIS HISTORIC MISSION TO MAINTAIN NATIONAL UNITY IN THE FACE OF ETHNIC DIVERSITY AND REGIONAL TENSIONS. COURSES OF ACTION TO PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS ARE CONDITIONED BY THIS FRAME OF REFERENCE:

A. MAKE CERTAIN THAT GOT OFFICIALS ARE INFORMED OF U.S. HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS.

B. SUPPORT CONTINUED INVOLVEMENT OF U.S. FULBRIGHT AND OTHER EXCHANGE PROFESSORS AS WELL AS PEACE CORPS TEACHERS IN THE TOGOLESE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM AS TRANSMITTERS OF PLURALISTIC VALUES.

C. INCREASE U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN ALL FORMS OF TRAINING BOTH TO EXPOSE TOGOLESE TO U.S. VALUES AND TO STRENGTHEN NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND REDUCE THE NEED FOR AUTHORITARIAN METHODS TO MAINTAIN NATIONAL UNITY. IN PARTICULAR, TOGOLESE MILITARY TRAINEES SHOULD BE EXPOSED TO U.S. HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS (SEE

COURSE OF ACTION 9).

D. RECOGNIZING EYADEMA'S PERVASIVE SUSPICION OF ALL FOREIGN EFFORTS TO INTERFACE IN DOMESTIC POLITICS, SEEK TO MAINTAIN CONTACT WITH ELEMENTS OF TOGOLESE SOCIETY INTERESTED IN HUMAN RIGHTS PROMOTION.

5. OPERATE THE INTERNATIONAL VISITOR (IV) PROGRAM AT AN ANNUAL LEVEL OF 10-12 GRANTEES.

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6. INCREASE THE AMBASSADOR'S SELF-HELP FUNDS TO \$200,000 ANNUALLY.

7. CONTINUE INFORMATION AND CULTURAL PROGRAMMING AT ABOUT CURRENT RATES, WITH VARIED AND SOPHISTICATED PROGRAMS TARGETED AT KEY SECTORS: GOVERNMENT, MEDIA AND UNIVERSITY. A MODEST BUDGET INCREASE IN THE ORDER OF 10 0/0 WOULD PERMIT THE LEVEL OF PROGRAM EFFECTIVENESS TO BE RAISED BY THE OCCASIONAL PRESENTATION OF COLLOQUIA AND SEMINARS RATHER THAN SINGLE LECTURES, AND BY PERFORMING GROUPS RATHER THAN SINGLE PERFORMERS, AND BY INCREASING THE QUANTITY AND VARIETY OF THE USIS FILM INVENTORY. WITH INCREASED REGIONAL SUPPORT, IMPROVE LIBRARY OFFERINGS AND SERVICES AND DEVELOP MORE PROFESSIONAL STUDENT COUNSELING SERVICES.

8.HCONTINUE PC PROGRAM IN THE 80-100 VOLUNTEER RANGE. CONTINUE TO DIVERSIFY THE PROGRAM TO BRING THE PC INTO WIDER CONTACT WITH OTHER GOT MINISTRIES IN ADDITION TO EDUCATION, SUCH AS HEALTH, RURAL DEVELOPMENT, RURAL EQUIPMENT AND YOUTH AND SPORTS, PROVIDED OTHER MINISTRIES EXPRESS INTEREST IN THE PROGRAM.

9. SCHEDULE SHIP VISITS AT THE RATE OF ONE OR TWO A YEAR. INITIATE ORIENTATION AND TRAINING COURSES FOR TOGOLESE MILITARY OFFICERS; AND INCREASE U.S. FLEXIBILITY BY OBTAINING A PRESIDENTIAL DETERMINATION PERMITTING CONSIDERATION OF POSSIBLE TOGOLESE REQUESTS IN THE SECURITY ASSISTANCE FIELD ON THE SAME BASIS AS REQUESTS OF OTHER WEST AFRICAN COUNTRIES.

10. REMAIN ALERT TO COMMERCIAL AND INVESTMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN ORDER TO INCREASE THE U.S.HECONOMIC PRESENCE.

11. ENCOURAGE CONTINUED TOGOLESE PARTICIPATION AT PRESENTLY PROJECTED LEVELS IN THE ENTENTE AFRICAN ENTERPRISES LOAN II, THE ENTENTE FOOD AND LIVESTOCK PRODUCTION LOAN II, PL 480, NUTRITION SURVEILLANCE, MEASLES PREVENTION, ROAP, SAFGRAD,  
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AND THE AFRICAN MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM.

12. IMPROVE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURES AND WORKING RELATIONS WITH AID PLANNERS AND DECISION MAKERS IN ORDER TO FACILITATE THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF MISSION OBJECTIVES IN THE ASSISTANCE FIELD. CONTINUE EFFORTS TO PLACE AID OFFICER ON TOGOLESE DIPLOMATIC LIST. SUPPORT RDO EFFORTS TO SIMPLIFY AID PROJECT APPROVAL PROCEDURES.

13. CONTINUE TO UPGRADE THE VOLUME AND QUALITY OF BIO REPORTING.  
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## Message Attributes

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